

Humanist

World Digest

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THE IDEAL OF HUMANISM

We are seeking to present Humanism as a religious philosophy which denies no particular faith, but which provides a path over which all people can travel toward a unity that rises above the barriers of the beliefs which divide them. In behalf of this common faith, we emphasize a constructive approach rather than opposition to traditional philosophies.

TEN AIMS OF HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP

- 1—Full endorsement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations at the Plenary meeting December 10, 1948, and world-wide implementation and fulfilment of those rights at the earliest possible moment.
- 2—The use of science to serve society, creatively, constructively, and altruistically in the preservation of life, the production of abundance of goods and services, and the promotion of health and happiness.
- 3—The establishment and furthering of scientific integral education in all schools and colleges so as to emancipate all peoples from the thralldom of ignorance, superstition, prejudices and myths which impede individual development and forestall social progress.
- 4—The widest promotion of the creative arts so as to release all potential artistic abilities and raise the general level of artistic appreciation.
- 5—The increase of social, recreational and travel activities in order to broaden the outlook and improve the intercultural understanding among all peoples.
- 6—A quickened conservation of the world's natural resources, including human resources, so as to arrest their wasteful exhaustion and wanton destruction and thus insure their longest preservation and widest beneficial use for man's survival on this planet.
- 7—The inauguration of a world-wide economy of abundance through national economic planning and international economic cooperation so as to provide a shared plenty for all peoples.
- 8—The advancement of the good life on the basis of a morality determined by historical human experience and contemporary scientific research.
- 9—The development of a coordinated private, cooperative and public medical program which will provide preventive as well as curative medicine and include adequate public health education and personal health counseling.
- 10—The expansion of United Nations functions (1) to include international police power with sufficient armed forces to prevent war and (2) international economic controls capable of preventing world-wide monopolies and/or cartels.

HUMANIST WORLD DIGEST

(Successor to WELCOME NEWS)

A Quarterly of Liberal Religion

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POTENTIAL UNLIMITED: TVA

By E. O. Corson

The TVA is an inspiring example of a free people pooling their skills and energies and research for the greater good of all, without surrendering any bit of their freedom to an all-powerful bureaucracy. The thing which the thinking man likes and admires most about the TVA is that it is a device which avoids the exploitation of the many by the few. At a time like the present—when the very existence of the TVA itself, to say nothing of the beneficent idea behind it—is at stake, it is obligatory that we assay the values of this greatest invention of the century.

A body of information about the TVA has been prepared by the TVA Public Power Association, describing the operations of the project and pointing to the impact which it has on the citizens of the area. To a reader audience conditioned to facts and figures, these details from this vaster body of information will prepare us better for further thought and comment on the issue.

The TVA is an independent corporate agency of the Federal Government, created in May, 1933, by an Act approved by the Congress and the President. The basic provisions of the Act are that it is to provide for the unified development of all resources of the watershed of the Tennessee River and its tributaries, i.e., to improve the navigability and to provide for the flood control of the Tennessee River; to provide for reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in the Tennessee Valley; to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of said Valley, and to provide for the national defense. The area which comprises the Valley is the drainage basin of the Tennessee River and its tributaries, an area of 40,910 square miles.

The River system flows through the States of Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Kentucky. The offices of the TVA are located in Muscle Shoals, in Knoxville and in Chattanooga, and a small liaison staff is located in the Capitol. The TVA is financed through appropriations by the Federal Government and revenues from the sale of its power and fertilizer. TVA's power operations are self-supporting; in fact, the net income in fiscal year 1952 represented a 4.7 per cent return on the power investment. The financial statements of the project are examined by the United States General Accounting Office. The top affairs of the TVA are administered by a Board of Directors and a General Manager who are appointed for nine-year terms by the President and confirmed by the U. S. Senate. As of April 1, 1953, the number of TVA employees totaled 21,311. The population of the Tennessee Valley counties (1950 census) is 3,544,500; the population of the entire area served with TVA power is estimated at 5,900,000. The integrated power system of the project includes major hydro-electric plants at 31 dams, 13 major steam-electric generating stations (of which six were under construction in 1953), and a number of minor plants. For fiscal year 1952 the net income from sale of power was \$25,100,000, the power being distributed by 97 municipalities, 51 cooperatives, and three private companies, over 8,300 miles of high voltage lines. For residential use, the average TVA rate is 1.33 cents per kwh. This compares with the average rate in the United States which is 2.76 cents, or a saving of over one-half to these consumers.

The average annual return on TVA's average power investment is 5 per cent for fiscal years 1948-52. This power investment is 67.8 per cent of the total investment of the TVA. Assignable to flood control is 17.2 per cent; navigation, 15.0 per cent. TVA repays to the Federal Government out of its power revenues, within forty years from 1948, an amount equal to the funds which the Government has advanced for the power program. Similar payments over forty-year periods are required against appropriations for projects going to service after 1948. Further, regarding additional services of the project as a whole to the region, note must be made of the testing and demonstrating of TVA-manufactured fertilizers in actual farming operations. Farmers in each community, in cooperation with TVA and the Extension Division of the State Universities, worked in 2,451 farms in 21 states in 1953.

Reforestation and flood control are also in the center of the land conservation purpose of the project. The forest land, which comprises 54 per cent of the Valley area, is 83 per cent privately owned and 17 per cent publicly owned. The Valley's annual income from its timber—now over \$3,500,000—will be increased many times in the future under its sound forest development and management plans. Lastly, in flood control, incalculable damage in the Valley itself has been averted in the past 15 years. Existing dams in the Valley today are capable of reducing floods even in the Mississippi Valley's lower 10,000,000 acres through cooperation with flood control agencies in Cairo, Illinois, and southward. The actual value of this service is incalculable, to say the least. But it is as real and as invaluable as it is vast. The gamut of the TVA's services does not end with this either: it extends on even closer to human welfare in the health program. Twenty years ago some areas in the Valley showed as high as 30 per cent malaria incidence. In the same areas today there has been no evidence of locally transmitted malaria for several years. TVAs' malaria control operations are correlated with State regulations, and the States participate in surveys and studies and the planning and selection of control practices.

Thus, in effect, we see the role which the TVA plays in the life of our nation, a role which we have attempted to interpret to the reader here through this maze of facts and figures. Again we say that the TVA is the greatest political invention of the century, an entity not unsurprisingly created in this Nation which places the worth of the individual high on its scale of values. The TVA can well be looked upon with pride by our people as the closest expression of a healthful, workable project for the social and economic betterment of all concerned.

But a tragic note has been struck. The Administration has betrayed our TVA, contrary to his campaign promises. He has taken this celebrated achievement of modern America as evidence of "creeping socialism." With neither explanation for doing it, nor with justification for having done it, he has reversed his stand on this issue. In so doing he demonstrates his unawareness that the TVA is a project conceived through national legislation for regional planning with State and local management and free individual participation, all of which is contradictory to the pattern of the "social state."

Where and when, the betrayed voters are now wondering, will the Administration cease to turn power development back to

business and the States? Not in the Southeast alone, but in the Northwest and Southwest as well, private power agencies have won the Government's approval. The question that arises is how much will the consumer, the American public, pay for this folly in time to come? Statistics show that low-cost electricity is produced only by publicly-owned companies. "The best possible electric service at the lowest possible rates," as advertised on the billboards, sounds promising until one looks into the rate schedules and finds that the first step in the residential rate schedule is 6 cents per kwh. and the final, or lowest, was 3 cents per kwh. To get down to the low-cost power, you must go "all-electric." This is the technique of the misinforming utilities agencies against which the American public must be protected. And almost without fail, when the private utilities are compared with the TVA, the TVA—which is the yardstick for measuring economy and efficiency—is inevitably misrepresented. In their enthusiasm to protect their own interests, the power companies and their friends misrepresent the situation and try to discredit TVA's performance which deserves generous and widespread recognition. In the next five years as TVA demonstrates its ability to sell great quantities of steam generated power at average rates under 5 mills, another all-low measurement for low-cost power will be established. It is obvious that our nation and our industry can now meet the challenge and can send the service of electricity into the home for an average cost of little more than 1 cent per kwh. It is our society's obligation, with the help of our Government, to see that we not be overcharged.

Above and beyond this injustice to our own people within our Nation, stands another vital issue. This pertains to our responsibility in the family of nations as a whole regarding the TVA way of life. Although many of our Americans have not come to think of it as an existing fact, the TVA project is known to revolutionaries—hungry men who have been exploited from beyond the beginning of history—throughout the world. The TVA to these men means a symbol of achievement and equality, a new hope and happier way of life for themselves and their families. The TVA enkindles the imagination of the thinking masses of people. It is more than a device for insuring crops; it means increased productivity, new forests, better health, conservation of natural resources, more modern ways of doing things, more comfort in living. The TVA to them is a community project, one in which the benefits accrue to all the people, not to a few

promoters. Let it be known to all of them that this is not what, in fumbling for a way to avoid responsibility toward mankind, a man can carelessly label "socialism." It is national planning through legislation for a valuable region with great potential, all done with States and local management and inspired by free individual participation. World peace, hope for the individual, and the great future of our civilization depend upon sober thoughts and actions which follow on this line.

This is democracy in action.

Its world potential is unlimited.

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FEDERATION FOR THE 20TH CENTURY

By M. M. Wingate

There are two aspects of the contemporary situation which are of primary concern. At first sight they may not appear to be related but a little thought shows them to be closely linked. They are the menace of recurrent wars between the nations, and the problem of how to remain persons in a planned society. Let us look at the second aspect first.

Planning versus Freedom—or both

A planned society of some sort is inevitable and all mankind will have to come to terms with it. There can hardly be anyone today, even in Britain, who does not realize, however reluctantly, that it has come to stay. We should probably disagree about the amount of planning we need, but not about its necessity. It is exceedingly important that we should wholeheartedly accept that fact. To many of us the idea is distasteful and we give a grudging intellectual assent while withholding the equivalent emotional endorsement. This is highly dangerous for the reason that it breeds an attitude of leaving to others to decide what kind of planned society we are to have, and on that decision the whole future of our civilization depends. Sometimes such an attitude springs from a subconscious feeling—born perhaps of nineteenth century liberalism—that planning and freedom are incompatible, whereas of course in the twentieth century we have only that for which someone has planned. We must therefore plan, and plan NOW, for freedom or we shall perhaps awake at no far distant date to find that there is no longer any room for freedom.

At the moment we are in great danger of sliding slowly but surely into the wrong kind of planned society—the sort in which

the individual does not count for himself, but only as a unit in something larger, such as the machine state in its many forms, with its assumption that man exists for the state, rather than that the state exists for each individual man.

Individual Responsibility

We need to build the sort of society which will provide space, both literally and figuratively, in which the individual can move freely and become conscious of himself as a person. It must confront him continually with situations in which he has a real and a personal choice to make, by whose consequences he must abide. Secondly it must give him the opportunity to count for something. This is a deep-rooted need of every human being. **When, at one and the same time, society gives an individual the means to choose and the opportunity to count, he then discovers progressively that he will count exactly in proportion to his readiness to serve.** When that discovery is made, he is well on the way to becoming a responsible person.

Here, then, is our dilemma. We want a society in which the individual citizen can enjoy his right to count and recognize his duty to serve. But we are going to be members of a planned society and the form that society is to take is by no means yet decided. In the twentieth century it could well be one in which the resources of the state were organized against democracy and the faith in the value of the person for which they stand. How then can we help to ensure that together we create a society which has deliberately planned that its citizens shall have space to develop into responsible persons, a society, moreover, in which it will still be possible for a man to choose his own religion.

War

Before trying to answer that question, let us turn to the other problem, the menace of recurrent war. First it is worth noting that every war fought in the last fifty years has meant a permanent diminution of individual liberties for the citizens of the states concerned and an encroachment of the state upon what, until then, had been matters for personal initiative and decision. Yet we continue to get involved in inter-state wars of an ever more devastating character in a world where our potential for happiness and for mutual destruction have both been multiplied infinitely by the release of atomic energy.

The Myth of Sovereignty

The fundamental difficulty would seem to be that we try to solve every problem, economic, social, or political, in too narrow a context. We endeavor to preserve economic and political democracy within our separate national frontiers, and we fail to realize that in the twentieth century you can have neither unless you build both into a framework of international democracy. Emery Reves, in his *Anatomy of Peace*, pointed out that the foreign policy of each individual European state between 1910 and 1939 was perfectly rational and indeed inevitable, when viewed from the standpoint of a particular nation, but the sum total of these policies, in the form of two world wars, proved utterly disastrous to all alike.

The Americans in the eighteenth century stumbled, one might say by accident, upon the clue. They realized that in order to be a citizen of Ohio or Kentucky, a man must also be a citizen of an "umbrella" state which will guard each separate compartment from aggression by the others and will develop the resources of the whole for the benefit of each. And the twentieth century American is aware and proud of the fact that he cannot be a citizen of the U.S.A. unless he is also a citizen of a particular state, nor a citizen, say, of Tennessee unless he is also a citizen of the U.S.A.

Diversity Within Unity

We in Europe have to learn before it is too late that we cannot continue to be French, British, or Germans unless we are also willing to share the common political authority which will guarantee to us the continuance of those different national cultures which we rightly treasure and on whose diversity of riches the culture of the future must depend. Hitler very nearly "united" Europe, but under the Third Reich the separate riches of each culture, and the opportunity for persons to develop through them, would rapidly have disappeared, to be replaced by the two-class society consisting of the *Herrenvolk* and the rest.

The only way, then, to peace between the nations is through the sacrifice of some portion of national sovereignty. We have to put force under the control of law and that means that whenever we agree to form a common defense force we must make it answerable to a common political authority, i.e., a common government, and we must see to it that such a government recognizes a charter of human rights, and that it guarantees to dele-

gate to every member state the right and the power to give its own citizens the opportunity to develop as responsible persons through the exercise of choice, of initiative, and of the response to a call for their service.

A Compelling Task for All Faiths

This is the political philosophy of the federalist, and it is the only one which provides in our own day a constructive alternative to communism. It is a political philosophy for the twentieth century. It calls upon him to let go the shadow of national self-determination in order to grasp the reality of a mutual dependence of the individual democracies and the federal democratic state of which they are a part. This is a literal application in twentieth century terms of religious group principle that we must lose our lives in order to find them. The principle, too, is capable of application at an infinity of levels; to mention two only: at local government level it would ensure the training of individuals in real responsibility by the delegation to them, whether singly or in groups, of real power. It would also give the political control necessary to set up a development authority on a sufficient scale to provide for the economic development of backward peoples, and it would stretch a protecting cover over them while they worked out their own salvation, free from the menace of exploitation by "-isms" of one kind or another, of communism or of imperialism, whether territorial or economic.

It seems then that the only kind of planned society which will ensure peace in the twentieth century is one which transcends national sovereignty. Again, the only kind of planned society within which people can choose will be one which delegates real responsibilities, powers and choices to the individual, i.e., one which guarantees a sufficient measure of autonomy to relatively small areas to make some degree of self-government possible. If we put these two premises together they add up to some kind of federal democratic state. Wherever we establish it its citizens will continue to be persons in a planned society, and interstate war within that area will disappear. A good many vested interests will disappear at the same time and all faiths should face the fact that the sacrifice of national sovereignty will take all the faith, idealism, and practical wisdom of which we are capable.

COMMUNISM AND CONFORMITY

By George F. Kennan

Following are excerpts from the text of an address delivered by Mr. Kennan, former Ambassador to Russia, at a University of Notre Dame convocation on May 15.

The sense of warmth and reassurance that flows from this occasion means all the more to me because I cannot forget that there are forces at large in our society today that do not inspire me with this same feeling—quite the contrary. These forces are too diffuse to be described by their association with the name of any one man or any one political concept. They have no distinct organizational forms. They are as yet largely matters of the mind and the emotion in large masses of individuals. But they all march, in one way or another, under the banner of an alarmed and exercised anti-Communism—but an anti-Communism of a quite special variety, bearing an air of excited discovery and proprietorship, as though no one had ever known before that there was a Communist danger, as though no one had ever thought about it and taken its measure, as though it had all begun about the year 1945, and these people were the first to learn of it.

I have no quarrel to pick with the ostensible purposes of the people in whom these forces are manifest. Surely, many of them are good people. Surely, many of them have come to these views under real provocation and out of real bewilderment. But I have the deepest misgivings about the direction and effects of their efforts. In general, I feel that what they are doing is unwise and unfortunate, and I am against it.

They distort and exaggerate the dimensions of the problem with which they profess to deal. They confuse internal and external aspects of the Communist threat. They insist on portraying as contemporary realities things that had their actuality years ago.

And having thus incorrectly stated the problem, it is no wonder that these people consistently find the wrong answers. They tell us to remove our eyes from the constructive and positive purposes and to pursue with fanaticism the negative and vindictive ones. They sow timidity where there should be boldness; fear where there should be serenity; suspicion where there should be confidence and generosity. In this way they impel us—in the name of our salvation from the dangers of Communism—to many of the habits of thought and action which

our Soviet adversaries, I am sure, would most like to see us adopt and which they have tried unsuccessfully over a period of some thirty-five years to graft upon us through the operations of their Communist party.

I would not mention these things if I felt that they were only my personal concern and had no relation to the undertaking which we have gathered to celebrate. But I fear that there is here a serious relevance which we cannot ignore.

Thanks to the vision of wise and generous people, this university is now adding one more important unit to the number of those facilities in our country in which men can cultivate their own understanding, and extend the boundaries of knowledge, in the field of arts and letters. Certainly there could be no finer undertaking, and none more needed. But I feel that this undertaking, too, will have to deal at some point with the forces I have just described.

I feel this first of all because these forces are narrowly exclusive in their approach to our world position, and carry this exclusiveness into the field of international cultural exchanges.

The remote pasts of foreign artists and scholars are anxiously scanned before they are permitted to enter our land, and this is done in proceedings so inflexible in concept and offensive in execution that their very existence often constitutes a discouragement to cultural interchange.

A second reason why I think you will have to concern yourselves with the forces to which I have pointed is that within the framework of our society, as in its relations to external environment, the tendency of these forces is exclusive and intolerant—quick to reject, slow to receive, intent on discovering what ought not to be rather than what ought to be. They claim the right to define a certain area of our national life and cultural output as beyond the bonds of righteous approval. This definition is never effected by law or by constituted authority; it is effected by vague insinuation and suggestion. And the circle, as I say, tends to grow constantly narrower. One has the impression that if uncountered, these people would eventually narrow the area of political and cultural respectability to a point where it included only themselves, the excited accusers, and excluded everything and everybody not embraced in the profession of denunciation.

I recall reading recently, twice in one day, the words of individuals who proclaimed that if certain other people did not get up and join actively in the denunciation of Communists or Com-

munism, they would thereby themselves be suspect. What sort of arrogance is this?

I have lived more than ten years of my life in totalitarian countries. I know where this sort of thing leads.

In these forces I have spoken about, it seems to me that I detect a conscious rejection and ridicule of intellectual effort and distinction. They come together here with a deep-seated weakness in the American character: a certain shy self-consciousness that tends to deny interests other than those of business, sport, or war. There is a powerful strain of our American cast of mind that has little use for the artist or the writer.

What is it that causes us to huddle together, herdlike, in tastes and enthusiasms that represent only the common denominator of popular acquiescence rather than to show ourselves receptive to the tremendous flights of creating imagination of which the individual mind has shown itself capable? Is it that we are forgetful of the true source of our moral strength, afraid of ourselves, afraid to look into the chaos of our own breasts, afraid of the bright, penetrating light of the great teachers?

It may not seem to many of us too dangerous that we should all live, dress, eat, hear, and read substantially alike. But we forget how easily this uniformity of thought and habit can be exploited, when the will to exploit it is there. We forget how easily it can slip over into the domination of our spiritual and political lives by self-appointed custodians who contrive to set themselves at the head of popular emotional currents.

There is a real and urgent danger here for any one who values the right to differ from others in any manner whatsoever, be it in his interests or his associations or his faith.

The forces of intolerance and political demagoguery are greedy forces, and unrestrained. There is no limit to their ambitions or their impudence. They contain within themselves no mechanism of self-control.

It is for these reasons that I feel that you, in setting up at this time within this great academic community a center for liberal arts, are taking upon yourselves a great, though honorable, burden. You are going to have to swim against the tide of many of the things I have been talking about. You are frequently going to find arrayed against you, whether by intent or otherwise, the materialists, the anti-intellectuals, the chauvinists of all sizes and descriptions, the protagonists of violence and suspicion and intolerance, the people who take it upon themselves to

delimit the operation of the principle of Christian charity, the people from those memories there has passed the recollection that in their Father's house there are many mansions.

—American Civil Liberties Union

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NEWS AND VIEWS

UNDERSTANDING LIFE

Life is not a mystery. It manifests itself in infinite ways. It is dynamic, active, flexible, and persevering in its endeavors to realize its goal. Life is determined to create a truly human society, and peoples will learn to live in peace, to love one another, and enjoy the good of life. This is its destiny.

Now, how does life manifest itself, Take a simple case. Suppose we look at an ordinary seed. Implicit in the seed is its destiny to grow and develop into a plant. This destiny was given to it by life itself. In order to start its life-process, we bury the seed in the ground. It remains there and germinates . . . shut out from light. After a while, it sprouts out and begins to grow and develop as a plant.

The life which was implicit in the seed now becomes manifest in the plant. But the plant is still implicit . . . it does not as yet show us the kind of flowers and fruit it will produce. As the plant grows and develops, it brings out flowers and then fruit. Here we see how it explicitly manifests what was implicit in the seed.

The same process takes place in the case of man. For nine months, the seed of the human being remains in the mother's womb . . . shut out from light and the world. It is in complete darkness . . . yet it is in infinite light, because it requires such light to develop a human seed into a human being.

But the human being is wholly implicit. Nobody knows what it is going to be, or what it is destined to manifest. When the child is born, its senses are opened . . . it is beginning to become explicit. Then follows a period of evolution . . . the child gradually brings out its faculties—understanding, judgment, intuition, reason, and finally attains to the intellect. Then the human being becomes wholly explicit.

Life-process Continues Struggle

Now, on the face of it, the seed which was planted in the ground seemed to become a plant peacefully . . . without work,

without struggle, without any opposition at all. But this is not so. It had to overcome all obstacles . . . the sun, wind, rain, cold, insects, and so on. It is a continuous struggle and suffering to exist.

As with the plant, so with man. So long as the human being is still immature, he can receive only such light as he can comprehend. There is no way by which we can force him to grasp a higher and deeper light. On the other hand, when he becomes mature, he will work, struggle, and suffer to manifest what is striving to become explicit in him.

And here we can see how life manifests itself in the creation of a universal human society. For the first time in the history of the human race, all nations, races, and peoples of the world are represented in one organization . . . the United Nations. How the human race worked, suffered, and struggled to reach this point! Whether we are conscious of this fact or not, it was life that determined this process all the way.

Goal Manifesting Itself

The nations of the world wanted peace; but they could not agree on the economic and political basis of peace. To establish an enduring world peace, to get people to co-operate with one another legally, democratically, and intelligently, life had to create this world power.

The United Nations is in the same process of growth and development as the plant. In due time, this world power will manifest its true nature. Implicitly, it is only gathering the minds of all the people for the purpose of talking things over, endeavoring to learn the art of co-operation. Explicitly, it will curb, tame, and control the animal passions and desires of man by sublimation. Sublimation is an expression of some low, instinctive animal passion or desire in a higher and more acceptable form.

Originally, when men had grievances, they fought and killed each other like animals. But now they will learn to sublimate this animal urge by the establishment of international courts of justice. A court of justice is a sublimation of the battle field; a trial in court is a real battle . . . but it is fought with intellectual weapons, and not with guns.

A cold war is taking place all over the world . . . and wars and revolutions were the only means whereby mankind rose intellectually and spiritually. The human race is still living in

a state of nature; and life is compelled to use such methods until mankind will attain to reason. The present cold war will result in a complete change in the life of mankind . . . physically, economically, intellectually, and spiritually.

The human race must learn to work, struggle, and suffer to reach a higher state of perfection. This process will curb, tame, and control the animal nature, passion, and desire inherited from the original anthropoid. Man must become a rational and morally autonomous person. Of course, this will mean constraint, hardship, and suffering for millions of human beings . . . but life is intent upon reaching its goal. Nothing can stop its determination to establish a truly human society on earth.

—Samuel Spitzer Sermonet

DULLES STOPS SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS COVENANT

Roger Baldwin returned in mid-May from Geneva, where, as the Union's International Work Director and as chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man, he spent six weeks attending sessions of the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

He reported that the announced refusal of Secretary of State Dulles to submit to the Senate any human rights covenant had "lowered the prestige and influence of the United States, and prevented the U. S. delegation from taking an effective part in drafting covenants which they knew the U. S. would only reject." The Commission has spent most of its two-month session, due to end June 1st, in trying to complete two covenants labored over for four years.

Mr. Baldwin said that he was convinced, "along with members of the Commission itself and of other non-governmental agencies," that the covenants should be completed by legal experts rather than by a "political body of instructed governmental delegates."

U. S. proposals for a more active educational program for world human rights, said Mr. Baldwin, "were warmly received by the non-governmental agencies, which have long urged such measures as more effective than legal covenants." The Commission has yet to act on them.

Access to the U.N. by individuals whose rights are violated was rejected by the Commission, which has confined all complaints to member States. (The ACLU has long urged the right of private petition.)

"Stop McCarthy?"

Mr. Baldwin also visited Germany for a week, where he met with the German Civil Liberties Union, established a few years ago with U. S. aid and ACLU cooperation. He reported a frequent German inquiry of Americans: "You reproach us German liberals for not stopping Hitler. Why, may we ask, don't you stop McCarthy?"
—ACLU

JUSTICE DOUGLAS

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, speaking on May 20th to the American Law Institute in Washington:

Today fear eats away at the hearts of men, until even old neighbors suspect one another. Alarms are sounded, anxieties are traded upon until a community does not know what to believe or whom to trust.

There is, of course, a real basis for a feeling of insecurity in the world today. The threat to the independence of nations as a result of Soviet imperialism is real and imminent.

But responsible people in dealing with our domestic problems do not trade on that fear. They realize that the greatest peril to a people would come should the administrative agencies, the bureaucrats, the courts, the judges, and the procedures under which Government operates ever become mere creatures of the popular will. Then hysteria and passion take over.—ACLU

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THE MIDDLE ROAD

By William H. Stalnaker

Field Representative of The American Humanist Association

There are millions of Americans who class themselves as liberals believing in progress WITHOUT revolution. This class of American citizenry has been betrayed on one hand by communists and communist front organizations, and on the other hand by the extreme right of fascist fronts. This liberal American of whom I speak may come from any political party; he may be a member of any church or of no church; he may be white or black or red or yellow; he may be rich or poor; but regardless of what he is he attempts to find a middle-road that leads to a certain amount of happiness and well-being on this earth. While many remain skeptical of a hereafter that promises of rich rewards, others have a definite philosophy in regard to a perpetuation of the personality after existence here is ended.

The liberal American, however, finds himself in a peculiar situation. He opposes McCarthyism and its implications. He opposes, also, the communist party and its own dictatorial methods. What can the liberal do or think? He lived through World War I that was supposed to have saved the world for democracy. He lived through the lush twenties that eventually threw him into a depression. He produced more than he could buy and consume. Then he went hungry and cold in a land of plenty. The old familiar graduating themes of "WPA Here I Come" was a common tune. So he became one of thousands that joined this or that organization. When Pearl Harbor came in 1941 there were still eleven million men out of work.

World War II was to save men from tyranny everywhere; instead, it has been the instrument that enslaved countless millions mentally and physically. In his own America he saw the aftermath of war. He came home to pay huge bonuses for apartments and houses. He had a right to be bitter and cynical when he paid money he had earned freezing in Germany and Italy or crawling on his belly in the jungles of the Pacific, to a landlord who had grown fat and rich from wartime work. On top of that, prices on everything soared pretty well beyond his reach. Today the average American is hundreds and thousands of dollars in debt because of short-sighted political hacks, well-heeled real estate lobbies, and get-rich-fast incompetent doctors. Thus far the Eisenhower administration, which promised so much, has proved to be the same old patent medicine under another label with General Motors and Oveta Culp Hobby thrown in for good measure.

There seems to be no other way for the liberal, progressive American than to take the middle road. No high or low road; no left or right. He will catch hell from all sides. If he opposes communism he will be told that he has betrayed freedom; if he opposes McCarthyism he is a traitor to his country and a communist-lover; if he fights for adequate medical care for ALL Americans he is called a socialist. He watches men plead protection under the Fifth Amendment. He watches them cringe and cower under McCarthy. He wonders if this country has produced a race of cowards and idiots. Surely, if a man is innocent he has no cause to fear any investigation; if, on the other hand, he believes in an organization so much that he joins and supports it, then he should have "guts" enough to defend it.

If the middle-road American pleads for just a little rationali-

zation in religion he is called an atheist. He asks for proof of hell and heaven. He is told to go to the former. He asks, "Can we not be humanitarian amongst ourselves while we are here on this earth?" Surely there will be no special places in the hereafter for Baptists, Catholics, Jews or Negroes. Give me some sort of answer, he says. No answer comes, and he goes away. He has gone away to such an extent that his numbers include eighty million Americans who never go inside a church. He is skeptical of Billy Graham's direct wire to God and Fulton Sheen's shoulder-rubbing with saints. The middle-road American watches a TV program caled "Back to God," sponsored by the American Legion, on which appears President Eisenhower and his mate Nixon. Why back to God? Hasn't He always been there? There is no proof that God cares any more about the American Legion and Eisenhower than He does about Winston Churchill or Joe Stalin. Would it not be better if man went back to man? Isn't he "the measure of all things" as Prothagoras put it? Let man concern himself with being a man and he need have no fear of any hereafter.

The middle-of-the-roader will be stoned every step of the way. But is it not better to die fighting for what one believes to be right, than to cower and go along with the mob and also take up stones? Is it not more fitting that we should solve our own social problems of inequality, and in so doing make ourselves so strong that no other form of government can ever encroach itself upon us? Then our "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" will be a reality for all and a stronghold against any form of dictatorship.

* * *

DEPRESSED FARMERS FACE PRIVATE POWER GRAB

Depressions always start with farmers, after wars, and today "the farm front is literally seething with troubles," Roy McLain, Visalia, told the Public Utilities Commission, July 15.

McLain, grower of citrus, olives, grapes, cotton and livestock, was the first witness called by J. J. Deuel, Farm Bureau Counsel, to prove "that the spread of rates requested by the Southern California Edison is neither just nor reasonable."

The proposed SCE agricultural pumping schedule would boost farm electric bills more than 20 percent.

"If ability to pay dividends is primary," as SCE maintains, McLain argued, "inability to pay, because of lack of income,"

which is the farmer's condition today, should be given equal consideration by the Commission.

Figures from 1776

McLain presented figures of farm price drops after every war beginning with 1776, and he showed that depression followed on the heels of farm distress. "California is in a very vulnerable position price-wise," he said, "with continued increasing costs." Nationally, farm prices fell 7 percent in 1952. The drop in 1953 will be even greater, made more serious by tighter credit.

Farmer's net income fell from \$17.1 billion in 1947 (war boom year) to -12.7 billion in 1950. Korean war spending boosted the total to only \$14.3 billion. In 1953 farm income will be considerably less.

Specific commodities, of which California is a leading producer, dropped as follows:

Potatoes from \$3.85 a cwt. in April, 1952, to \$2.23 in April, 1953.

Cotton from \$32.20 a cwt. to \$31.45.

Alfalfa from \$32.20 in May, 1952, to \$24 a ton in May, 1953.

Milk from \$4.61 a cwt. to \$4.12.

Beef from \$27.70 to \$17.30 per 100 lbs.

Grapes from \$67.80 in 1950 to \$38.20 in 1952.

Dried figs from \$283 a ton in 1950 to \$142 in 1952.

Olives crushed for oil, from \$106 in 1950 to \$67 in 1952.

In spite of the Korean war, oranges fell from \$1.92 in 1950 to \$1.06 a box in 1952.

The farm mortgage debt increase refutes the newspaper fiction about farmers "rolling in wealth." Present farm mortgage and non-real estate, now nearly \$15 billions, is 50 percent higher than at the end of World War II.

Victims of Free Market

"Farmers are victims of the free market," McLain said. If 550,000 acres of cotton goes out in 1954, or even a proposed compromise of 386,000 acres, we will have to transfer to other commodities which will be competitive in price with what is now on the market.

McLain explained how farm irrigation pumping takes place during the four or five summer months when other users' demand is at minimum. Cotton is irrigated every week, almost continuously. A pump may run for 100 days without being shut

off. Grapes every other week. Citrus and orchards every three weeks.

Volume distribution which farmers provide is of great value to Southern California Edison. Placing an undue burden on farmers is unfair and will result in reduced use, to the detriment of the entire system.

Protestants Increasing

Lincoln Henderson, Terra Bella potato, plum, cotton, wheat and cattle farmer, said he had been paying a standby charge for 15 years and the company never had to set foot on his property except to read the meter. He took care of all maintenance. The proposed rate increase would amount to \$600 a year for a family-sized operation. "It just can't be done," Henderson said.

Others objecting to the proposed SCE rate increase were the Terra Bella Chamber of Commerce, the City of Lindsay, the S. San Joaquin Municipal Utility District, and the Lindsay-Strathmore, Terra Bella, Vandalia, Exeter, Delano-Earlimart and Sausalito Irrigation Districts.

Cross-examination of company witnesses by Bruce McKnight, representing the INDEPENDENT PROTESTANTS, and by a growing number of cities, business, industrial, and agricultural groups continues on September 16 in Los Angeles.

—California Farm Reporter

* * *

CAPTIVE SCHOOLS

Tax-supported school systems which come under the domination of Roman Catholics who adhere to Canon Law 1374 are in danger of losing their "public" character, POAU maintains.

Two key administrative posts in the New York City public school system have recently been filled by men who are about as well "qualified" for the jobs as a hungry cat is "qualified" to take care of a canary. First came the election by the Board of Education of two new associate schools superintendents when only one vacancy existed—the extra post (at a cost to the taxpayer of \$16,250 a year) having been created out of thin air so as to make possible the designation of a Roman Catholic, Edmund J. Gannon, to "balance" the designation of a Protestant, Miss Florence S. Beaumont, to fill the real vacancy which existed (Church and State, June, 1953). Then came the election by the Board of Higher Education of Joseph B. Cavallaro, a

Roman Catholic, as board chairman. The religious affiliation of both officials was prominently mentioned in the daily newspapers, and it was obviously a determining factor in their selection.

Cavallaro's unsuitability for his post is particularly glaring. Although educated in public elementary and high schools, he expressed his "regret" to reporters "that he did not attend parochial school" as four of his children are now doing, the fifth being of pre-school age. A mere listing of his current schedule of Roman Catholic activities requires at least two inches of newspaper type. Canon 1374 of Roman Catholic law—which Cavallaro clearly upholds, states:

"Catholic children must not attend non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools, that is, such as are open to non-Catholics. It is for the bishop of the place alone to decide, according to the instructions of the Apostolic See, in what circumstances and with what precautions attendance at such schools may be tolerated, without danger to perversion to the pupils."

When men committed to the above article of faith are elevated to controlling positions in the largest public school system in the world, it becomes doubtful whether that system can remain "public" for long. Roman Catholic educational strategy in the United States works along two parallel lines: On the one hand, it seeks the diversion of tax funds to parochial schools. On the other hand, it seeks to parochialize the public schools by introducing sectarian practices and doctrines into the school program. The Gannons and the Cavallaros can be counted on to further their church's ambitions in this direction. Indeed, Cavallaro, in his first public statement after his election, called for more "emphasis on religion in city colleges," and praised the McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde Senate and House investigating committees for "doing a good job" in the field of education which should be "finished" by the New York school authorities.

Cavallaro's predecessor as board chairman was Dr. Ordway Tead, who had held the post for 15 years. Tead happened to be both a Protestant and a small "d" democrat, and had opposed the inquisitorial methods of the Congressional investigating committees as a "national threat to academic integrity." The board meeting at which Cavallaro was chosen in preference to Charles H. Tuttle, a Protestant, by an 11-9 vote (later made unanimous by Tuttle's withdrawal), was a closed one from which the presidents of four municipal colleges and board aides were barred.

The procedure was later termed a "blitz" by several board members.

Ironically, if the Board of Higher Education had applied the same "religious balance" formula which had been used by the elementary school board in electing Gannon an associate superintendent "on special assignment," Tead would have been succeeded by TWO designees for the post of board chairman—one a Roman Catholic, the other a Protestant "on special assignment."

In filling both of these posts, democratic practices were made a mockery and the persons chosen represented a sectarian, not public, interest. Wherever this happens—and it is happening in all too many American communities today—the public schools are in danger of being "captured" by the Roman Catholic Church. This could mean the beginning of the end for the American way of life. Only to the extent that free citizens are ready to stand up and fight against this trend will the danger be averted.

* * *

OUR GREATEST BATTLE: WISDOM OF BODY vs. WISDOM OF MIND

By Robert Gesell

Chairman, Physiology Department, University of Michigan

The evolution of genius of the magnitude of Einstein, Michelangelo, Shakespeare, Newton, and Aristotle, out of the homogeneous substance of the earth, stands as the greatest of the wonders of nature. The mystery is all the greater that the extraordinary capacities of man are now turned against himself to threaten his very existence . . .

Nature is the supreme gambler. She deals out one mutation upon another and waits for the struggle for existence to determine who is cast upon the evolutionary scrap heap. She deals out a significant mutation which arranges the higher functions of the brain into two major compartments; one compartment encompassing the intellect, and the other compartment the emotions. She interlocks these compartments in a mysterious way so as to make the intellect subservient to the emotions. The emotions are primitive, for they are mainly concerned with the physical comforts of food and sex. "Survival of the fittest" perfects the technique of satisfying these simple needs.

Then, suddenly, comes the greatest mutation of all biological time. The progenitor of man is endowed with a vastly superior

brain which gives him a decisive advantage over his competitors. *Homo sapiens* becomes undisputed "king of beasts."

All goes well with man until he emerges from the cave and awakens to appreciation of his powers. He increases in numbers. He takes interest in fire, iron, levers, wheels, and alphabets. Great repositories of science and technology spring up overnight in libraries, universities, and vast industries. Suddenly, he is confronted by a monster of his own creating and a frightening realization of incompetence to use his phenomenal attainments widely and humanely. He is, in short, caught in a physiological trap, and faced with the problem of escaping from his own ingenuity. This trap is not the simplest type of trap, for it is composed of some sixteen billion nerve cells interlocked in ways to make us what we are and in ways which we have yet to understand.

The impact of the power of the intellect and the relative roles of the wisdom of the body and of the mind have, by strange circumstance, posed the great problems of the day.

Puny in body, deficient in tooth and claw, inferior in strength, lacking in fur and armor and venom, man has duplicated all of these gadgets of living for himself by force of intellect. The speed and streamlining of the mackerel; the jet propulsion and smoke screen of the squid; the echo location of the bat; the physical power of the rhinoceros; all of which were built into the substance of the creatures by hundreds of millions of years of evolution, have within recent years become available to man as artificially acquired accoutrements of living and fighting.

The dangers of instruments of destruction are presently uppermost in the minds of the world, but a vastly greater, far more insidious danger threatens. It is overpopulation, sometimes referred to as the "O" bomb, which despite man's remarkable intellectual achievements and his machines is threatening catastrophe. This is the most basic problem of man. Why then is society so indifferent to it?

According to Ernest Hooten, anthropological authority, man "is still a super-ape; savage, predatory, acquisitive, primarily interested in himself . . . the only possibility of improving the utilization of machines lies in the improvement of man himself."

A concerted effort on the part of society to bring about greater humaneness might possibly meet the grave situation which faces it. We must come to realize that it is the normal, healthy state of man, and not disease, that poses the major problems of civilization.

—From 1953 Henry Russel Lecture

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Nigeria, W. Africa

Dear Brother:

You have not known me before nor do myself, but I am very much impressed by your regular dispatch of your "World Digest," to me without minding whether I acknowledge receipts or not. Truly, Humanism is religion. I live for God and I live for Humanity. I am in favor with all religion and sympathize with all people who profess religions. I am the world teacher in religion. I love all religion, I love God and I love Humanity with all its humanitarianism. I am impressed by your steady pursuit and one-pointedness and I now feel and decide to answer to your call.

I am too sorry and regretted that restriction of dollar and sending money to America from Nigeria has made it impossible and difficult for me to send to you subscriptions but if you have any other special channel through which money can be sent to you from this country please hesitate not to let me know. Furthermore, I am of opinion to represent you here in Nigeria to form a chapter for you here if you will furnish me with full and necessary information how to do it, and send to me all necessary instruments in the form of books or other things to start with. Books that will put me through to speak one religious language with you in your own field of activities. Do the outside chapters receive help like finance or remuneration in any form or shape from the Headquarters? "Those who preach the Gospel shall live by religion." Tell me all that you should want me to do in your representation here. Can you render any essential assistance to those who work with you outside United States?

Hoping to hear from you soon. Yours faithfully, S.U.O.

To the Editor:

Just made me think of you.—P.D.

THE LIFE WORTH LIVING

Henry Van Dyke

There is a life that is worth living now as it was worth living in the former days, and that is the honest life, the useful life, the unselfish life, cleansed by devotion to an ideal. There is a battle that is worth fighting now as it was worth fighting then, and that is the battle for justice and equality: to make our city and our State free in fact as well as in name; to break the rings that strangle real liberty and to keep them broken; to cleanse, so far as in our power lies, the fountains of our national life from

political, commercial and social corruption; to teach our sons and daughters, by precept and example, the honor of serving such a country as America—that is work worthy of the finest manhood and womanhood. The wellborn are those who are born to do that work; the wellbred are those who are bred to be proud of that work; the well-educated are those who see deepest into the meaning and the necessity of that work. Nor shall their labor be for naught, nor the reward of their sacrifice fail them; for high in the firmament of human destiny are set the stars of faith in mankind, and unselfish courage and loyalty to the ideal.

Dear Miss Bjornson.

I have been a member of this organization for over six and a half years, and on its Executive for two, but I have only just seen a copy of "Humanist World Digest" as now in my capacity of full-time Secretary I have a large number of journals piled high on my desk each day. I must say I personally was interested to read the "Humanist World Digest" and it occurs to me that the enclosed quite brief pamphlet recently published by us might be of some interest to you. In addition, I have taken the opportunity of enclosing one or two copies of our regular monthly publications, and I might add that the very humorous story of Adlai Stevenson and his ubiquitous cat is an item which I hope to reproduce at a later date in "Federal News," with, of course, mention of "Humanist World Digest" as well.

Should you have time to spare to make any comments or criticisms, I would be most interested in anything you have to say.

Yours sincerely, D.R.

—Federal Union, London.

* * *

EDITORIAL

WHITHER THE LIBERAL?

Spencer, the British philosopher, gave spirit and hope to Billy Mitchell in his battle against injustice after World War I as Spencer stated, "He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past he is a parent of the future, and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. Not as adventitious therefore will the wise man regard the faith which is in him. The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter. Knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his right part in the world."

A careful study of history shows that all leaders who propounded to us great ideas, of inventions, had to battle the stand-patters, the religious fanatic, the Pharisee. Today he battles the master of propaganda, the tyranny of words, or clichés. Only a few years ago we applauded the man who said "We have nothing to fear but fear itself;" now fear promoted by the fear artists, stalks our land, until someone with the voice of authority speaks and we dare to come out from the shadows.

When Arthur Eisenhower, brother of the President, dared to say recently "When I think of McCarthy I automatically think of Hitler. I would believe anything about him. He calls in people and proceeds to make fools of them." He showed the spirit of Spencer and led the way for more timid souls to speak. But as the recent Bi-Weekly Bulletin of the National Committee for an Effective Congress states, this battle against the tyranny of McCarthyism was won by the Senators on the Committee—Potter of Michigan, Jackson of Washington, Symington of Missouri, McClennan of Arkansas, who fought the battle in Committee meeting.

The story of America has been built on courage, the most infectious of all words.

Study the story of Socrates? Had he yielded, what tragedy would have come. Or of St. Jerome who did not lose his faith because he was discouraged with the world about him. Or Elizabeth Cody Stanton who fought for woman's suffrage against even the women of her day. William Lloyd Garrison dared to fight slavery when it was not popular. Jefferson fought the Alien and Sedition Acts, and Lincoln boldly fought the compromise on slavery.

From the Congressional Report the following expresses well the position of the Liberal and humanist today:

The Great Depression left liberals persuaded of the primacy of economics. They seem incapacitated of good times. Yet Liberalism in America has not been an economic interpretation of history. It is a moral philosophy which can, of course, be applied in the field of economics but which extends far beyond and is, in fact, an affair of the heart and mind. To roll back the psycho-political demagogues and to retrieve their proper place in America, the liberals must enter the home front cold war determined to fight where the battles are taking place. The real battles today are not only in the field of money but of the mind, not only of economics but of moral attitude and behavior,

not of material progress and well-being, but of ideals and principles. Let the liberals return to Liberalism, and they will find the American people at their side. A.B.

* * *

HUMANISTS GRANTED TAX EXEMPTION FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES

Although the Humanist World Fellowship was incorporated in the State of California in 1948 as a religious Humanist organization, it usually takes considerable time for other governmental agencies to get all the tax and other clearances through, especially if your religious convictions do not quite conform to those of the conventional type.

However, we are pleased to state that the California State Franchise Commission gave the Humanist World Fellowship its early approval for tax exemption and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue gave us their approval early this year, for which we are thankful.

These Tax Exemptions make the Humanist World Fellowship exempt from State and Federal Income Taxes.

Contributions made are deductible by the donors in computing their income tax under the regular limits. Bequests, legacies, devises or transfers, to or for our use are deductible in computing the value of the net estate of a decedent for estate tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by the code. Gifts of property are deductible in computing net gifts for gift tax purposes in the manner and the extent provided in the code.

Here is an opening for those who would like to plan to help carry into action the Ideal of the Humanist World Fellowship, that is: "We are seeking to present Humanism as a religious philosophy which denies no particular faith, but which provides a path over which all people can travel toward a unity that rises above the barriers of the beliefs which divide them. In behalf of this common faith, we emphasize a constructive approach rather than opposition to traditional philosophies." And as further stated in the interpreting of Humanist objectives on the back page and the basic aims on inside of front cover:

To bring these ideals into realization we propose:

(1) The establishment of Humanist Student Centers, preferably of a cooperative nature, around colleges and other appropriate institutions of education.

(2) To establish Humanist churches and community centers in new and non-churched residential areas and other areas where appropriate support is evident.

(3) To establish research Fellowships in the colleges and liberal religious Seminaries and other worthy projects which will aid in furthering the real objectives of humanism, that is, to make this world a fit place to live in and human life worth living.

(4) As to man's economic and social problems, the liberal scientist can give some worthwhile answers but there is another approach which has been spoken of elsewhere: it is the battle for the minds of men. It is the moral and ethical approach, around which all men of all faiths in the world can unite. Upon which can be built a foundation for lasting peace. This is indeed a compelling study project for many colleges in all parts of the world. After the making of these studies, they could be coordinated through international meetings and worked into a common agreement, based on an appropriate and acceptable answer to this world problem.

To those interested in contributing to this most worthy work, the following are a few of the suggested ways of procedure:

Fall contributions are timely for tax reasons. They may be cash, real estate, stocks, with life incomes or other arrangements for protection of the donor. For those interested, in special problems consult your tax authority or we will be pleased to advise.

With the recent announcement of the "H" bomb, which, it is said, destroys all within a 200-mile circle, the work of the Humanist is ever more pressing.

Horace Mannonce said: "Be ashamed to die unless you have done some worthwhile good for humanity." That ideal can be bridged through cooperation with the Humanist World Fellowship.

* * *

INGERSOL AT NAPOLEON'S TOMB

A little while ago, I stood by the grave of the old Napoleon—a magnificent tomb of gilt and gold, fit almost for a dead deity—and gazed upon the sarcophagus of rare and nameless marble, where rest at least the ashes of that restless man. I leaned over the balustrade and thought about the career of the greatest soldier of the modern world.

I saw him walking upon the banks of the Seine, contemplating suicide. I saw him at Toulon—I saw him putting down the mob in the streets of Paris—I saw him at the head of the army of Italy

—I saw him crossing the bridge of Lodi with the tricolor in his hand—I saw him in Egypt in the shadows of the Pyramids—I saw him conquer the Alps and mingle the eagles of France with the eagles of the crags. I saw him at Marengo—at Ulm and Austerlitz, I saw him in Russia where the infantry of the snow and the cavalry of the wild blast scattered his legions like the winter's withered leaves. I saw him at Leipsic in defeat and disaster—driven by a million bayonets back upon Paris—clutched like a wild beast—banished to Elba. I saw him escape and retake an empire by the force of his genius. I saw him upon the frightful field of Waterloo, where Chance and Fate combined to wreck the fortunes of their former king. And I saw him at St. Helena, with his hands crossed behind him, gazing out upon the sad and solemn sea.

I thought of the orphans and widows he had made—of the tears that had been shed for his glory, and of the only woman who ever loved him, pushed from his heart by the cold hand of ambition. And I said I would rather have been a French peasant and worn wooden shoes. I would rather have lived in a hut with a vine growing over the door, and the grapes growing purple in the kisses of the autumn sun. I would rather have been that poor peasant with my loving wife by my side, knitting as the day died out of the sky—with my children upon my knees and their arms about me—I would rather have been that man and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust, than to have been that imperial impersonation of force and murder, known as "Napoleon the Great."

—Robert G. Ingersoll

* * *

With respect to what are called denominations of religion, if every one is left judge of his own religion, there is no such thing as a religion that is wrong; but if they are to judge of each other's religion, there is no such thing as a religion that is right; and there, all the world is right, or all the world is wrong.

But with respect to religion itself, without regard to names, and as directing itself from the universal family of mankind to the divine object of all adoration, it is man bringing to his Maker the fruits of his heart; and though these fruits may differ from each other like the fruits of the earth, the grateful tribute of everyone is accepted.

—Thomas Paine

MANAGING EDITOR'S COLUMN

"The bill for establishing religious freedom in the United States, the principles of which had, to a certain degree, been enacted before, I had drawn in all the latitude of reason and right. It still met with opposition; but, with some mutilations in the preamble, it was finally passed; and a singular proposition proved that its protection of opinion was meant to be universal. Where the preamble declares that coercion is a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, an amendment was proposed, by inserting the words 'Jesus Christ,' so that it should read, 'a departure from the plan of Jesus Christ, the holy author of our religion'; the insertion was rejected by a great majority, in truth that they meant to comprehend, within the mantle of its protection, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and Mohammedan, the Hindoo, the Infidel of every denomination." —Thomas Jefferson

The Humanist World Digest is again endeavoring to express these objectives. When you receive a copy and you are not already a subscriber, and want to help the work along, just pin a dollar bill to the coupon below, with your name and address, and mail it now for a year's subscription. To our regular subscribers, the Humanist World Digest makes a most acceptable gift. As with all liberal religious groups, extra contributions are gratefully received.

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INTERPRETING HUMANIST OBJECTIVES

HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP is a religious association incorporated under the laws of the State of California with all the rights and privileges of such organizations. It enrolls members, charters local societies, affiliates like-minded groups, establishes educational projects and ordains ministers.

HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP defines religion in terms of two inseparable historical processes: (1) the ages-long quest for ultimate human values; and (2) the continuous effort to realize these values in individual experience and in just and harmonious social relations. Humanism affirms the inviolable dignity of the individual and declares democracy the only acceptable method of social progress.

MODERN HUMANISM seeks to unite the whole of mankind in ultimate religious fellowship. It strives for the integration of the whole personality and the perfection of social relationships as the objectives of religious effort. Humanism, in broad terms, tries to achieve a good life in a good world. **HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP** is a shared quest for that good life.

Above all, man is not to be regarded as an instrument that serves and glorifies totalitarianism — economic, political or ecclesiastical.

HUMANISM insists that man is the highest product of the creative process within our knowledge, and as such commands our highest allegiance. He is the center of our concern. He is not to be treated as a means to some other end, but as an end in himself. Heretofore man has been considered a means to further the purposes of gods, states, economic systems, social organizations; but Humanism would reverse this and make all these things subservient to the fullest development of the potentialities of human nature as the supreme end of all endeavor. This is the cornerstone of Humanism, which judges all institutions according to their contribution to human life.

HUMANISM recognizes that all mankind are brothers with a common origin. We are all of one blood with common interests and a common life and should march with mutual purposes toward a common goal. This means that we must eradicate racial antagonisms, national jeal-

ousies, class struggles, religious prejudices and individual hatreds. Human solidarity requires that each person consider himself a cooperating part of the whole human race striving toward a commonwealth of man built upon the principles of justice, good will and service.

HUMANISM seeks to understand human experience by means of human inquiry. Despite the claims of revealed religions, all of the real knowledge acquired by the race stems from human inquiry. Humanists investigate facts and experience, verify these, and formulate thought accordingly. However, nothing that is human is foreign to the Humanist. Institutions, speculations, supposed supernatural revelations are all products of some human mind so must be understood and evaluated. The whole body of our culture — art, poetry, literature, music, philosophy and science must be studied and appreciated in order to be understood and appraised.

HUMANISM has no blind faith in the perfectibility of man but assumes that his present condition, as an individual and as a member of society, can be vastly improved. It recognizes the limitations of human nature but insists upon developing man's natural talents to their highest point. It asserts that man's environment, within certain limits, can be arranged so as to enhance his development. Environment should be brought to bear on our society so as to help to produce healthy, sane, creative, happy individuals in a social structure that offers the most opportunity for living a free and full life.

HUMANISM accepts the responsibility for the conditions of human life and relies entirely upon human efforts for their improvement. Man has made his own history and he will create his own future — for good or ill. The Humanist determines to make this world a fit place to live in and human life worth living. This is a hard but challenging task. It could result gloriously.

These brief paragraphs indicate the objectives and methods of **HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP** as a religious association. Upon the basis of such a program it invites all like-minded people into membership and communion. Let us go forward together.

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